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AUTHOR Cadwallader, Lynn
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ABSTRACT

Nathaniel T. Allen's life (1823-1903) offers insights into 19th century professionalization of education in the United States. His independent political views set him apart as a strong-willed and dauntless supporter of equal education opportunity. Appointed by Horace Mann as principal of a model school connected with the first public normal school in the United States, Allen later ran his own school for 50 years. He attracted students from throughout the world and promoted racial integration, coeducation, kindergarten, nature studies, and physical education. As an agent of Henry Barnard, he studied European education. Correspondence with Mann, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Lucy Stone, Wendall Phillips, and various students portray Allen as an educational pioneer who opposed typical 19th century apolitical entrepreneurship among educators and administrators. Allen's work was summed up by the Massachusetts Schoolmasters Club which referred to his school in 1903 as the best in New England--a place where every new idea advanced by a sane pedagogy was worked out. (Author/KC)

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NATHANIEL TOPLIFF ALLEN

EARLY PROFESSIONAL AND 19TH CENTURY RISK TAKER

Lynn Cadwallader

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

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(Work in Progress)

Lynn Cadwallader

Fifty thousand spectators mobbed Boston streets between the Court House and Long Wharf. Amid their jeers and shouts, a special marshall's posse and troops of U. S. Marines led Anthony Burns, a trembling black man, toward the dock and a cutter headed for Virginia. It was June, 1854, and tensions were high in Boston.

Under the new Fugitive Slave Law, an accused fugitive could not testify in his own behalf. Boston abolitionists were outraged and had tried to rescue the accused Burns a few days before. Thomas Wentworth Higginson and a group of men plotted to rush the Court House with axes as Wendell Phillips, the great abolitionist orator, gathered a crowd at Faneuil Hall to follow and assist. Their timing became confused. Deputy marshalls stopped Higginson's men with gunfire, and one deputy was killed in the fracas. President Franklin Pierce immediately wired that the law should be enforced and Burns returned South at any expense. Boston citizens turned out to see what might happen next.[1]

In the jostling, excited crowd, a group of students who came to watch became separated from their teacher. Nathaniel Allen, the teacher, was a tall, slim, ruddy-faced man who towered over most of the crowd. Although not part of Higginson's and Phillips's rescue plan, Allen was friendly

with them, and his ardent opposition to slavery equaled theirs. Anger rose in Allen as Burns and the Marines came nearer. Special police held back the crowd and artillery passed by. Allen couldn't contain himself and his powerful voice boomed out, "Shame!" Authorities grabbed Allen and whisked him away for questioning. When the crowd dispersed, Allen's students couldn't find him and didn't know what had happened. They traveled ten miles back to school in West Newton without him.[2]

Who was Nathaniel Allen? And why did this teacher allow his young charges to participate in such a potentially volatile and controversial situation?

Nineteenth century educators as a group, whether promoting public or private education, tended to take apolitical stances in order to further their interests. Horace Mann carefully refrained from making strong statements on slavery until he was a Congressman because he wanted support for his school reforms.

Heads of academies also needed public approval to guarantee a supply of tuition paying students and an income. Their rural institutions, forerunners to high schools, often existed very marginally--with poor buildings, little equipment and untrained teachers who were expected to teach numerous different subjects but rarely stayed with a school for long. If academicians interpreted the schoolkeeping profession as politically powerful, their schools suffered even greater financial risk. Hiram Orcutt, an ambitious and prosperous schoolkeeper who once ran two academies in different states, published a list of "Pedagogic Truths and Suggestions" near the end of his life. He included, "Don't quarrel with your school-board" and "Keep politics out of school."[3]

The recent discovery of manuscript papers and schoolkeeping records in the home of Nathaniel Allen (1823-1903) provides a unique opportunity to study a man whose life and work go beyond prototypical descriptions of early professionals in education. His career included work with Horace Mann and Cyrus Peirce in the first public Normal School for teacher training in America. He later ran an independent school for nearly 50 years, attracting students from every state and 40 foreign countries. He pioneered and supported numerous pedagogical advances: physical education, nature studies, kindergartens, object lessons, and vocational training. The Massachusetts Schoolmasters Club referred to his school as "the best in New England . . . a pioneer in the working out of every new idea that a sane pedagogy advanced during its existance."[4]

Yet Allen also kept up a life-long interest in the reforms of his era. He risked the financial security of his school by including blacks and young women from the beginning. He moved blacks north to Canada through his home as part of the Underground Slave Railroad, and he advocated Women's Rights and the peace movement. Allen's work provides a sharp contrast to descriptions of nineteenth century educators as apolitical entrepreneurs.

Nathaniel Topliff Allen was born on September 29, 1823 on the Allen homestead in Medfield, Massachusetts. His upbringing reflected the changes taking place in America at that time. Especially in the Northeast, people were moving away from the centuries old structures based on family or religious ties into larger associations and institutions for both business and social purposes. Allen was a member of the seventh generation of Allens born on the same farm, and his mother's family went back to Elder Brewster of Plymouth, but his own nuclear family moved to

Waltham for three years to work as a group in America's first cotton mill, and they were part of early New England associations that grew out of reform movements.[5]

Since Allen's father, Ellis, took a strong interest in peace, temperance and anti-slavery causes, the family home was a station on the Underground Railroad for years. Regular reading material in the house included abolitionist newspapers, The Liberator and the Anti-Slavery Standard. William Lloyd Garrison, editor of The Liberator, and a close friend of Allen's father, referred to him as "one of the tried and true of the old Guard of Freedom." Frederick Douglass, the eminent young black abolitionist, visited the Allen home in the early 1840s and later wrote, "The world, good and bad, was then opening upon me with vigor. I shall never forget the kindness shown me by the dear Allen family." He included them among "the dear people who were not ashamed to own me as a brother in Massachusetts." Both Allen's family influence and structure would play an important role as he created educational institutions in later years.[6]

Allen's own schooling was haphazard and typical of early nineteenth century rural communities. When most schools were closed nine months of the year, teachers scrambled for whatever income they could find during the remaining months and rarely stayed in the same community past one season. For the little time teachers were in school, they often resorted to heavy-handed physical discipline to make their young charges--usually fresh out of fields--successful at the unlikely task of sitting still and concentrating on books. As often as not, students adopted the goal of teasing teachers until they left their posts. In later years, Allen would only vaguely remember his teachers: one was club-footed, and another, cross-eyed with a penchant for hurling rulers at students.

Still another, finally forced to leave as a result of pranks perpetrated by young Allen and his friends, seemed to delight in making students undergo a variety of punishments: holding books at arm's length, crouching under desks for an extended time, and picking bits of paper off the floor that the teacher had torn up the evening before.

In 1840, at age 16, Allen had a very different school experience under his older brother Joseph, then only 20 years old. Allen saw Joseph as a genius at teaching who could inspire the desire to learn in his 70 pupils without any attempt to use fear of punishment as a deterrent. For the first time, Allen considered education as a future profession. After additional schooling under his uncle, Joseph Allen, a Harvard trained minister and teacher, Allen tried his skill.[7]

Allen's first teaching job was in Mansfield, a town where teachers customarily gave up because of student pranks. Not quite 20, he found that his sense of humor and seriousness of purpose resulted in effective teaching.[8]

In 1844, Allen enrolled at Bridgewater Normal School, one of the most prestigious of the new institutions that were to help realize Horace Mann's dream of universal education in America. A corps of trained teachers were to replace the ranks of untrained, often hapless part-timers who then ran schools. At Bridgewater, Allen learned methods to teach reading and composition by encouragement rather than criticism, and he came to honor Horace Mann's maxim: "The minimum of punishment is the maximum of excellence."[9]

Allen taught two more seasons and completed scientific training at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York. His reputation brought a job offer in 1848 from Horace Mann to take over the floundering

Model School connected to the Normal School which had recently moved from Lexington to West Newton, Massachusetts. Mann, himself, was not a teacher and spent little time in schools. His insistence on methods of schooling without the disciplinary rod could never have gained acceptance without the daily efforts and examples of teachers like Allen. Although a little in awe of "coming under the critical gaze of the highest ideals of the new education," Allen seized the opportunity to work near Mann.[10]

Conservative West Newton citizens were at first wary of Allen, a teacher from outside their community. Only 18 students enrolled on the first day of his term, but his leadership of the Model School proved so successful that enrollment jumped to 65 students in a few months, and parents from outside the district began paying tuition so their children could attend.[11]

Allen's innovations distinguished the school and attracted students almost immediately: he brought physical exercises, music, pets and humor into the school along with practical lessons in geography and reading. To teach nature studies, he took students back outside to the fields they knew so well and then assigned older students the task of lecturing to others outdoors. His own continuing interest in science enriched his teaching. A friend who attended Louis Agassiz' lecture to unwrap the mummy Ibis sent Allen a bit of linen wrapping to share with the "little urchins" under his care.[12]

Allen initiated an unusual method of encouraging writing practice. Each student wrote him a letter every other week discussing whatever he or she wished--joys, sorrows, problems in school, personal aspirations, sometimes even jokes or stories about their experiences outside of school. Some students wrote that they had difficulty with arithmetic or spelling. Others remarked on walks with Allen as the "most pleasant"

they'd ever had. Some wanted advice on whether they should become teachers and still others shared troubled thoughts. In 1851, a student named Mary Bingham thanked Allen for "the pains you have taken with me. . . . Half of what was said of me was not true . . . Anna Johnson used to say anything about my mother and who could bear it. How I wish I never had been born for this to have my teacher hate me and no one speak to me. . . . I wanted to talk to you of this before but never dared." Allen replied in the margin of these letters or reports and handed them back to students. Impressed, the Newton School Committee recommended that all teachers take up this practice. They also publicly remarked on Allen's success "in making his scholars feel that the school belongs to them, is for their benefit, and everyone has an interest in doing all he can to promote its best interest."[13]

Still another innovation was Allen's 1851 fund-raising campaign among local citizens leading to construction of the first secondary school gymnasium in America in his building. Soon, nearby school boards voted teachers half days off so they could visit the school. In the 1852-53 school year alone, 1,000 visitors came to the Model School. Allen's salary increased each year--from $500 in 1848 to $1,100 in 1853. Enrollment in that same year had swelled to 125, with 150 pupils turned away. Allen refused countless job offers to stay near Mann in the Model School.[14]

Allen's interest in the anti-slavery and other reform movements continued to grow. Shortly after he took charge of the Model School, Mann invited the young teacher to move into his household. Also living in the home at intervals were Mann's brother-in-law, Nathaniel Hawthorne and his sister-in-law, Elizabeth Peabody, editor of the Transcendental journal, The Dial. Mann had just been elected a U. S. Congressman, but maintained his position as Secretary of Education in Massachusetts.

Mann's anti-slavery friends encouraged him now more than ever to take a strong position against a national policy of expanding slavery, and the household was the scene of many lively political and literary discussions.[15]

Allen's abolitionist sentiments were further fired in 1851 by a five month tour of the South when he observed the "Peculiar Institution" he'd heard described by one of its self-proclaimed graduates, Frederick Douglass. In the alien climate of Charleston, South Carolina, Allen marvelled at cotton piled in all directions and at squads of the filthiest human beings he'd ever seen, groups of slaves laboring under lone white slave drivers. He met slaveowners, visited plantations and became more committed to abolition.[16]

In 1853, Horace Mann left West Newton for Ohio to start Antioch College, and the Normal School moved to larger quarters in Framingham. Instead of moving with it, or accepting other job offers, Allen chose to follow the advice of Mann, Theodore Parker, Charles Sumner and others: he stayed in West Newton, bought the Normal School building, and rented Mann's house to start a family school with boarders. The desire to give free vent to his political beliefs was most likely one of his major reasons for choosing to run an independent school.

The West Newton English and Classical School, commonly known as the Allen School, opened in January, 1854. When most schools were racially and sexually segregated, Allen included both blacks and young women from the outset.

Previous attempts to integrate black and white students in the North had caused repeatedly strong and sometimes violent opposition. Legislators in Ohio, Iowa and Kansas expressed strong objections to the

use of public funds for black education, whether separate or integrated. In 1834, Prudence Crandall's school for black girls in Canterbury, Connecticut, closed after numerous stonings, attempted arson and a hastily passed state law against educating blacks who were not Connecticut residents. The Noyes Academy in Canaan, New Hampshire, lay torn to the ground by local citizens after it admitted black students. Even in liberal Boston, Bronson Alcott's Temple School closed in 1839--his attempt to enroll one black student caused white parents to withdraw their children.[17]

Unlike his friend Alcott, Allen garnered wide support for his school while taking public stands for abolition. Blacks in the North and South alike knew his school well, and trusted Allen with their children. Allen was an officer in the Society of Garrisonian Abolitionists and became President of the West Newton Anti-Slavery Society. He acted as a body guard for Wendell Phillips and for Charles Sumner. In later years, Allen was a close friend of Booker T. Washington and encouraged one of his graduates, Ethel Shaw, to be an early instructor of Washington's Tuskeegee Institute.[18]

Educating women in the nineteenth century was as controversial as educating blacks. The same women who spoke out at abolitionist rallies began to consider their own status: they could not vote and were bound by laws they could not help to change. Once married, they were civilly dead. Husbands controlled wives' money and women were not responsible for committing crimes when their husbands were present. Women were bound by law to unalterable obedience to their husbands, but in case of divorce, all assets usually went to the man. Finally, women were excluded from higher education and the ministry.[19]

A growing movement for Women's Rights advocated their potential in lecturing, journalism, medicine, law, religion and politics. But entry into any of these fields required changes in the educational experiences available to girls and young women. Even at co-educational secondary schools, girls had a different curriculum, separate from boys. Some private seminaries for girls offered academic education mixed with traditionally feminine household skills, but Frances Willard had to fight a keen political battle to establish her Troy female seminary in New York. The practice of co-education still caused scandal as late as 1874 when Dr. Edward Hammond Clarke published Sex in Education; or a Fair Chance for Girls. He advocated separate and unequal education to prevent the certain physiological damage to women resulting from higher education. Julia Ward Howe immediately countered by editing Sex and Education in support of women's education.

Twenty years before Clark's and Howe's published debate, 36% of Allen's enrollment were young women studying in the same classes as young men. Each year his catalog carried a rationale for educating the sexes together, and in publishing tuition rates of the school, he concluded that scholarships would be available for "desirable pupils, girls especially, when necessary." No other record of scholarships for girls exists until women's colleges opened at the turn of the century.[20]

Allen aided Lucy Stone's causes and contributed articles to her Women's Journal. As President of the Newton Woman's Suffrage Association, he campaigned for more women on the local school board and helped obtain local suffrage for women 30 years before the constitutional amendment for national suffrage.[21]

Allen was able to educate the population he chose in the manner he chose because a core of wealthy liberal families continued to send him their children. Many of these parents were reform minded or activists.

One, Robert Smalls, conceived a daring plot early in the Civil War while he was still a slave on a Southern supply boat. One night when the boat was loaded with guns for delivery to the rebel forces, Smalls and his brother and a few friends waited until the owners left for the evening and quietly welcomed their families aboard. In the middle of the night, he made his way up to Union lines, finally waving a white flag, and the boat joined the Union fleet with Smalls as captain. Other Allen School parents included Horace Mann, U.S. Vice President Henry Wilson and women's activists Caroline Dall, Caroline Severance and Mary Livermore.

The school attracted students from all over the country and nearly 40 foreign countries including South America, Europe and Japan. Students included William H. Dall, the Alaskan explorer and early curator at the Smithsonian Institution; Tanetaro Megata, reportedly the first Japanese citizen to give a speech in English in America, and later law school founder and Minister of Education in Japan; as well as Sarah Fuller, a teacher of the deaf and colleague of Alexander Graham Bell; a federal judge, a Massachusetts Governor, a New York stock exchange president and early women lawyers and physicians.[22] In 1872, Jujoi Atzmori Shimidz, Japanese Prince Royal and nephew of the Mikado, enrolled in the school. He arrived with 16 servants, one for each year of his life. Allen explained that he would have to attend on the same footing as every other student, and, except for two servants who remained nearby, Shimidz dismissed the retinue.[23]

Of Allen's lesser known students, many became officers in professional organizations, took part in community activities and published articles and books in their fields.[24]

Teachers in Allen's school comprised a corps of professionals committed to education. His co-principal in founding the school was Cyrus Peirce, earlier chosen by Horace Mann to run the first Normal School. Allen's partner in caring for boarding students was his wife, Carrie Bassett, a high school teacher from Nantucket who knew Peirce and was a former Normal School student at West Newton.

Other Allen family members played important roles in the school. Among those who set up households for boarding students and took on teaching responsibilites were his brother, Joseph, who originally inspired Allen to become a teacher, and later became one of the most respected superintendents of the Massachusetts State Boys Reform School, and his brother James who studied European education in the 1850s. Others included Allen's Uncle Phineas, a Harvard educated language scholar who once taught Thoreau, and his cousin, William Francis Allen, a classics scholar, compiler of the first book of American slave songs, and teacher of historian Frederick Jackson Turner at Madison, Wisconsin.

Additional distinctive teachers included William Alcott, a physician who taught physical culture and published over 100 works on physiology and education. Alcott lectured at and inspected over 20,000 schools throughout the country during his career. Another teacher promoting physical culture at Allen's school was Dr. Dioclesian Lewis, first to introduce Swedish light gymnastics in America, and head of a teacher training school for physical education.

Many teachers had college training; many published articles and books. Some became college professors after working with Allen. Most foreign language, music and art teachers were born or trained in Europe.

Most academies rarely held teachers for more than a year or two. In contrast, 2/3 of Allen's teachers stayed at the school for 3 or more years, and nearly 1/10 taught for over 10 years, some for 30 or 40 years. About 1/3 of the teachers were former Allen students and contributed additional continuity to the school philosophy and practice.[25]

Within their role as professionals, the teachers were also memorable personalities. One student fondly recalled "Mr. James teaching the Japanese how to play blindman's bluff; Miss Dabney dancing Teneriffe fashion at recess."[26]

Curriculum at the West Newton English and Classical School further evolved from the innovations that Allen began at the Model School. His practice of having students write him letters developed into a system of keeping journals for daily writing practice. Each student wrote a page each day about what ever interested them at the time. Teachers periodically reviewed the journals for style, spelling and penmanship.[27]

Allen had one of the most complete physical education programs anywhere in the country. In addition to light gymnastics, Allen's students were among the first to use the roller skate--Allen's cousin James Plimpton invented the first guidable roller skate which set off a craze for skating halls in America and Europe. Students boated on the Charles River, took walking hikes of seven to twelve miles, visiting Lexington, Cambridge, and Bunker Hill. They used the school bowling alley, ball field and even a 5000 square foot swimming pond.[28]

The first Kindergarten experiment in the United States as part of a larger school took place in the Allen School in the early 1860s. Although Allen had hoped to start one earlier, he waited to find the right teacher and eventually chose Louise Pollack, a German, who published pamphlets about her work with Allen and later ran the Kindergarten

Normal Institute in Washington, D. C. for many years.[29]

The school curriculum stressed "observation, conception and memory," From Kindergarten, students were taught how to read simple prose and given oral instruction in French. Math lessons employed beans and kernels of corn. Children learned weights through actually measuring sand or grain before committing the tables to memory. Object lessons in natural history taught students to recognize minerals, plants, flowers and characteristics of animals and insects. Some students began Kindergarten at age three and continued in the Allen School through a college preparatory or English course in preparation for a business career. Allen further diversified the school offerings by adding an Industrial Department at his family homestead in Medfield so that students could have practical experience in farming.[30]

Allen's pedagogical practices were not surprisingly Pestalozzian. Before teaching with Allen, William Alcott edited a Pestalozzian educational journal with William Woodbridge, and Lowell Mason, who organized music instruction for public schools in a Pestalozzian style, was an Allen family friend. By the 1840s, teachers institutes sponsored throughout New England by Henry Barnard and others emphasized Pestalozzian principles. In promoting innovative pedagogy, Allen was a precursor to the vast outpouring of experimentation that would be called the Progressive era of education.[31]

Educational concerns beyond his own school captured Allen's attention and energy. In the 1860s, when the Massachusetts legislature was considering a law requiring mandatory military drill in public schools, Allen requested a hearing to protest state allocations for thousands of muskets and drillmasters. High casualties from the Civil War led some to believe that better preparations would make a difference in

future conflicts. Allen solicited testimony from peace advocate William Lloyd Garrison and several educators who argued that military drill often exaggerated boisterousness in their students' personalities. After debate from the opposition, Dr. Dioclesian Lewis staged a demonstration, putting both an ex-member of the 44th Regiment and a female gymnastics student through their exercises. He pointed out that over 100 more muscles were used and developed during gymnastics. The legislature seemed impressed, and the measure went no further.[32]

By the late 1860s, Allen's professional interest in education extended to include a two year tour in Europe as agent of Henry Barnard, then first U. S. Commissioner of Education. Allen's reports on European pedagogical practices amplified the social and political implications of those practices. He criticized the role of religion in schools and women's limited access to education and the teaching profession.[33]

Allen's European tour, his early work in the Model School and the widespread reputation and longevity of his unusual West Newton English and Classical School mark an important career in the history of American education. His independent political views set him apart as a strong-willed and dauntless supporter of equal educational opportunity.

One can only imagine that if more 19th century educators had been like Nathaniel Allen, fewer 20th century educators and legislators would have been caught in battles over the same injustices he fought.

Postscript

On January 30, 1973, the Nathaniel Allen house became a National Historic Site. The 32-room Greek Revival building is still standing because a coalition of local citizens wanted to save their neighborhood. Preservationists, abutting neighbors and local blacks whose grandparents attended the Allen School all had compelling reasons to save the house. Working together, they formed a corporation and obtained a grant from the Mabel Louise Riley Trust in Boston to purchase the property.

Since June, 1977, an unpaid full-time project director and over 50 volunteers donated thousands of hours to ready the house for caretaker/tenants. They have also cared for antique furnishings, cataloged the vast library in the house and begun to contact offspring of people who attended Allen's school. Plans for the building include middle-income apartments, a museum and research center and an educational area for school programs, teacher institutes and conferences.

Recent partners in reuse planning are the Newton Teachers Association, the Massachusetts Teachers Association and the University of Massachusetts.

Notes

Unless otherwise noted, primary documents are located in the Nathaniel Allen collection, West Newton, Massachusetts.

NTA = Nathaniel Topliff Allen

1. John L. Thomas, The Liberator, (1963), pp. 385-6.

2. John H. Ricketson, "Address to the 1893 Reunion of the West Newton English and Classical School," in Eugene Fay, An Illustrated Biographical Catalogue of the Principals, Teachers and Students of the West Newton English and Classical School, 1854-1893, (1895), p. 162.

3. Paul Mattingly emphasizes the apolitical thought and actions of 19th century schoolmen in The Classless Profession (1975). Theodore Sizer, in The Age of the Academies (1964), gives the most complete description of academies to date; Hiram Orcutt, Reminiscences of School Life,(1898), p. 154.

4. Massachusetts Schoolmaster's Club memorial to Nathaniel T. Allen, 1903.

5. Mary A. Greene, Nathaniel T. Allen, Teacher, Reformer, Philanthropist, (1906), pp. 3, 14, 17.

6. Elizabeth W. Allen, Joseph and Lucy Clark Allen, (1891), p. 5; Frederick Douglass to NTA, 7/6/1882.

7. Greene, p. 17; MS Reminiscences of NTA, II. Andrew Dickson White, innovative first President of Cornell University and student of Joseph Allen, later referred to him as the best teacher he'd ever known.

8. MS Reminiscences of NTA, I

9. NTA Class notebook from Bridgewater Normal School, 1845-6.

10. MS Reminiscences of NTA, II, Lucy Clark Allen to E. A. Aller, 5/19/1848.

11. MS Reminiscences of NTA, II, Report of the Newton School Committee, 1847-48. (located in the Newton School Department)

12. O. C. Everett to NTA, 5/8/1850.

13. George Sautelle to NTA, 7/21/1850; Sarah E. Aldrich to NTA, 6/15/1851; Mary E. Bingham to NTA, 11/21/1851; Report of the Newton School Committee 1849-50 (located in the Newton School Department).

14. Report of the Newton School Committee, 1851-52, MS Reminiscences of NTA, II.

15. Greene, pp. 52-3.

16. NTA to George Allen, 1/14/1851.

17. William Lloyd Garrison to NTA, 11/14/71; Fay, pp. 17-45.

18. Leon Litwack, North of Slavery (1961); Will S. Monroe, History of the Pestalozzian Movement in the United States, (1907), pp. 153-4; Frederick Douglass to NTA, 7/6/1882; Greene, pp. 166-73; Booker T. Washington to NTA, 3/29/1903; Fay, p. 39.

19. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Resolutions," (1848), Library of Congress collection.

20. Fay, p. 17-45; Catalogue of the West Newton English and Classical School (1881), p. 21; Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, (1929).

21. Greene, p. 179.

22. Fay, pp. 17-138.

23. Greene, p. 75.

24. Fay, pp. 17-138.

25. Fay, pp. 8-16.

26. Address of Mary A. Greene in Fay, p. 168.

27. Address of Mary A. Greene in Fay, p. 168.

28. Catalogue of the West Newton English and Classical School (1881), p. 20.

29. NTA to Henry Barnard 6/1/1880 (located in Barnard Collection, N.Y.U.); Kindergarten pamphlet published by Louise Pollack, no date, no title.

30. Catalogue of the West Newton English and Classical School (1864).

31. Monroe; MS Recollections by NTA, "Facts Concerning His Life"

32. MS Reminiscences of NTA, I.

33. MS Diary by NTA of European tour, begun in Dresden, 1869.